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Congressional Record S. 9830 and 1839 - Appropriations Bill and the Bombing of Cambodia

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ever been in combat in this war. But we have appropriated the money, while we talked about how much we abhor this tragedy.

Do you know what the war in Southeast Asia has cost this country, in addition to divisiveness and other issues already mentioned? 55,000 Americans dead. 303,000 Americans wounded, 25,000 of them paraplegics and quadriplegics. 130 million and more American dollars spent in carrying on this activity in that part of the world. Add the figures up. Ask yourselves some questions, and recognize this fact: The only truly ultimate weapon you have is the power of the purse, and I hope you will uphold what Senators McCLELLAN, BROOKE, and EAGLETON have tried to do in this urgent supplemental bill now before us.

Mr. EAGLETON. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the majority leader.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there is a compelling reason to consider the substance of the proposal before us and to cut away the froth in which it has been enshrouded.

The question today is not basically the rules and procedures of the Senate. It is not basically a point of order. It is not basically the question of germaneness. It is the question of what the Senate wants to do in an undeclared war being waged against a hapless country and to do it in such a way that there will be no doubt in the minds of anyone as to what the intent and the meaning is of what we do or do not do.

If you yield and bow down to the administration on this proposal, you are acquiescing in the continuation of the war in Cambodia. I think we are way beyond the time when we should have learned our lesson.

I am delighted that the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY) read the letter he did from one of the men—there are thousands of them, because I have received letters from them, too—who are carrying on these bombing activities, and who are asking for what? They look to us, and we do not see them. They speak to us and we do not hear. They write to us, and we do not answer. By voting for appropriations down through the years we have, in effect ordered those men to do what they are doing now.

Yes, a lot of us are against the war in Indochina and have been for 13 years, because the count of the casualties began on January 1, 1961. None of us had to go to Indochina. None of us has ever had to fly those planes. None of us has

✓The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BARTLETT). The Senator from Montana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we are talking about a point of order, which is proper, but we are also talking about the substance of what the Appropriations Committee did unanimously some 2 weeks ago. As the Senator from Nebraska stated at the time the committee undertook this action, he asked that he be allowed 3 days to file a supplementary report as I think he referred to it. That meant it would have been impossible to have brought up the urgent supplemental bill that week. I was further informed that once it did reach the calendar, another delay of at least 3 days would take place under the rules, which was allowable, and then there would be extended debate.

I hope that now that we have gone through this loss of 2 weeks, while the bombing continued we will face up to the issue and face it squarely.

The distinguished Senator from Texas (Mr. Tower) just said, "We are going the easy route."

Well, Mr. President, as a matter of fact, we are going at this the hard way. I hope sincerely that the Senate will back the distinguished Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN), the distinguished Senator from Missouri (Mr. EAGLETON), and the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. BROOKE), all of whom had a part in the compilation of this legislation now before us.

The able Senator from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA) seeks to strike out section 305. If I recall correctly, he emphasized the use of the word "heretofore"—"heretofore appropriated under any other act."

What does that mean, Mr. President?

If that language is not in the bill, it will mean that the Defense Department can take funds from other sources and will reinforce what former Secretary of Defense Richardson had the gall to tell the Senate in committee some 3 or 4 weeks ago, when he was asked what would be done if they were not given the money and he said, "We would continue bombing." The next question was, "For how long?" and the answer was, "Indefinitely."

Mr. President, I wish we would genuinely and at long last stand up for our own rights once in a while in this body. I wish that we in this body would recognize that we are Senate men first, foremost, and always, and that we have a responsibility in the conduct of the af-

fairs of this Nation, including foreign policy.

Oh, yes, Mr. President, they will tell you this will undercut Dr. Kissinger. If he was undercut, he was undercut in the Committee on Appropriations on the basis of that 24 to 0 vote. If he was undercut, he was undercut by the vote in the House of Representatives which, for the first time, sought to hold back further funds for bombing in Cambodia.

Here we are, using our B-52's from our airfields in Thailand and on Guam, and we are raining tens of thousands of tons—hundreds of thousands of tons by now, I dare say—on a hapless people who ask for nothing but peace. Their country has been pulverized, craterized, refugeeized to such an extent that the people have no place to go. But, here we are, 20,000, 30,000, 40,000 feet in the air, dropping bombs on them, dropping bombs on a people with whom we have no quarrel, dropping bombs on a country with which we have no connection, dropping bombs on behalf of a government which does not have the support of the people in the nation it pretends to rule.

When are we going to wake up to what our responsibilities are?

What has happened to the old ideals which made America what it was, but which it is losing rapidly today?

There are refugees by the hundreds of thousands in a country which refused under Prince Norodom Sihanouk to come in under the SEATO umbrella and which did the same thing under the present ruler, Lon Nol.

We do not know what we are doing in Cambodia. But I do know that we have lost 6 planes in the raids—of course they have no defenses—and I do recollect that there are a few new prisoners of war because of the loss of some of these planes, and I do know that we are spending tens of millions of dollars carrying on a war which we were told was ended several months ago.

Mr. President, let these people decide their own destinies. Let them plan their own futures. Let them look out for their own countries, their cultures, their civilizations, their societies.

Let us, for a change, tend to our own business, tend to our own affairs, and take into consideration the thoughts we feel deep down in this Chamber and the thoughts which the people of this Nation feel deep down as well.

So I would hope that as a coequal branch with the executive branch of Government, we will exercise our responsibility as Senators and stand up, for a change, and tell America what we believe in, and that we are prepared to assume the responsibility.